

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 AECE-00 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /149 W

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O R 131523Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 553

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9375

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: ALLIED ACTION ON CONSTRAINTS

REF: A. STATE 222698; B. USNATO 5439; C. BONN 16386

D. GENEVA 6023

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THERE IS A NEED FOR A PROMPT
DECISION ON THE CONTENT OF AN ALLIED FRAMEWORK
PROPOSAL. THIS WILL ALSO ENTAIL A DECISION WITHIN
THE ALLIANCE AS TO THE HANDLING OF THE CONSTRAINTS
ISSUE IN THE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. THE URGENCY FOR
ALLIED ACTION TO TABLE A FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL HAS BEEN

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INCREASED BY REMARKS OF SOVIET REP KHLESTOV TO US REP

(SEPTTEL) THAT THE SOVIETS MAY CONSIDER PUBLISHING OR FLOATING TEXT OF THEIR PROPOSAL. IN THIS EVENT, ALLIES MUST BE IN A POSITION TO ARGUE MERITS OF THEIR OWN PROPOSAL. WE ARE CONCERNED ON BASIS OF INITIAL ALLIED REACTION TO RECENTLY TABLED US PAPER ON CONSTRAINTS THAT ALLIES MAY NOT MOVE SUFFICIENTLY RAPIDLY ON TREATMENT OF CONSTRAINTS IN FRAMEWORK AND SUGGEST WAYS TO DEAL WITH POSSIBLE ROADBLOCK ON THIS ISSUE. SUGGEST THAT, FOLLOWING SPC DISCUSSION SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 14, USNATO ASSESS CHANCES OF ACCEPTANCE OF DEPARTMENT'S APPROACH AND POSSIBLY BE PREPARED TO SET ANOTHER MEETING ON NOVEMBER 16 AT LATEST IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT DECISION ON TREATMENT OF CONSTRAINTS IN ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, ELIMINATING THIS POTENTIAL ROADBLOCK TO TABLING OF PAPER. END SUMMARY.

2. WE WELCOME TABLING OF WASHINGTON'S CAREFULLY CONSIDERED PAPER ON CONSTRAINTS, WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE VEHICLE FOR ALLIANCE DECISIONS ON THIS SUBJECT. WE HAVE SOME CONCERN, REINFORCED BY PRELIMINARY REACTION IN SPC, THAT DEPARTMENT'S APPROACH IS OF SUCH CONPREHENSIVENESS THAT IT MAY, WITHOUT OUR DESIRING IT, MAKE DIFFICULT RAPID ALLIANCE DECISION ON TREATMENT OF CONSTRAINTS IN ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL TO BE TABLED IN NEAR FUTURE, THUS BLOCKING DECISION ON FRAMEWORK AS WHOLD. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALLIES BE IN A POSITION, IN THE EVENT THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS PUBLISHED OR LEAKED, TO MAKE CLEAR TO WESTERN OPINION THAT THEY HAVE TABLED CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT PROPOSAL OF THEIR OWN. URGENCY OF SITUATION IS HEIGHTENED BY KHLESTOV'S REMARKS TO US REP ON EVENING OF NOVEMBER 12 (SEE SEPTTEL) TO EFFECT THAT "SOME PEOPLE" ON WARSAW PACT SIDE ARE BEGINNING TO URGE PUBLICATION OF SOVIET PROPOSAL OF NOVEMBER 8. QUITE ASIDE FROM THIS RISK, ALLIES NEED SOON TO HAVE TABLED A PROPOSAL OF THEIR OWN IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN INITIATIVE VIS-A-VIS EAST IN FAVOR OF ALLIED APPROACH.

3. OUR PARTICULAR CONCERN IS WITH REGARD TO DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTION IN PARA C2(A) OR STATE 222698

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PROPOSING INCLUSION OF A LISTING OF TITLE OF STABILIZING MEASURES AGREED TO BY THE ALLIANCE AS THE FIRST MAJOR SECTION OF THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. IF THE ALLIES CAN RAPIDLY AGREE ON SUCH A LIST, SO MUCH THE BETTER. BUT WE BELIEVE THERE IS A RISK THEY WILL NOT. ALLIED AGREEMENT TO A FRAMEWORK STATEMENT MAY CONSEQUENTLY BE DELAYED. IF IT BECOMES APPARENT IN THE SPC MEETING SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 14 THAT IT

WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE ALLIES TO REACH AGREEMENT ON LISTING SPECIFIC MEASURES IN THE FRAMEWORK STATEMENT, WE SUGGEST AS A FALLBACK POSITION THAT THE ALLIES COULD INSTEAD PROBABLY REACH RAPID AGREEMENT ON THE LESS SPECIFIC TREATMENT OF THIS SUBJECT CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 17 OF VIENNA 9285. THIS TEXT WOULD PRESERVE FLEXIBILITY FOR NATO TO CONTINUE SUBSEQUENT SYSTEMATIC WORK ON THE US PROPOSALS FOR CONSTRAINTS AND FOR ALLIES TO ADVANCE THOSE MEASURES THEY WISH FOR DETAILED CONSIDERATION WITH EAST FOLLOWING CHRISTMAS BREAK. WE SUGGEST THAT THE US MOVE RAPIDLY TO THIS ALTERNATIVE IF SPC DISCUSSION ON NOVEMBER 14 INDICATES THAT AGREEMENT ON A MORE SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF CONSTRAINTS WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE.

4. A SECOND LESS DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE THAN THAT SUGGESTED ABOVE WOULD BE TO TRY TO GAIN ALLIED AGREEMENT TO LIST THE FIRST TWO ITEMS OF THE DEPARTMENT'S PAPER, PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENT OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA AND PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY US AND SOVIET FORCES, OR IF THERE IS AGREEMENT, BY ALL FORCES.

5. DISPUTE ORIGINAL RELUCTANCE, UK OFFICIALS HERE INDICATE THEY BELIEVE WHITEHALL COULD GO ALONG WITH THE SECOND MEASURE APPLIED TO ALL NATO FORCES, PARTICULARLY IF ITS DURATION COULD BE SPECIFICALLY LIMITED TO A YEAR. WE FULLY AGREE WITH WASHINGTON RESPONSE TO FRG OBJECTIONS TO THIS MEASURE AS UNDERMINING CSCE EXERCISE. LIKE US MISSION TO CSCE WE DO NOT BELIEVE FRG POSITION IS OBJECTIVELY JUSTIFIED SINCE MBFR DIFFERS SO WIDELY AND BELIEVE FRG WOULD GO ALONG WITH NUMBER TWO. IF IT IS SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01 DRC-01

SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03

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INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

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USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9375

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

FROM US REP MBFR

FINAL ALLIED DECISION THAT THERE SHOULD IN FACT BE
A DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE WITH
SOVIETS, THERE APPEARS TO BE AGREEMENT HERE AMONG
ALLIES THAT MEASURE NUMBER 1 CAN BE USED. BOTH UK
AND FRG REPS AS WELL AS OTHER ALLIED REPS HERE CONSIDER
THAT DISCUSSION OF PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES LIMITED
TO STEP ONE ON US/SOVIET PRE-NOTIFICATION WOULD BE
TOO THIN A NEGOTIATING PROGRAM, AND
ALSO NOT PROVIDE FRAMEWORK FOR ALLIED PARTICIPATION.
NONETHELESS, AS MINIMAL SOLUTION FOR DISCUSSION OF PRE-
REDUCTION CONTRAINSTS WITH SOVIETS IF ALLIES INSIST
ON THIS, LIMITATION TO STEP ONE WOULD BE A FEASIBLE
POSSIBILITY. STEP ONE COULD BE

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PRESENTED AS LOGICAL PRECURSOR OF DISCUSSION OF
US-SOVIET PHASE ONE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS AND BY IMPLI-
CATION PARTIALLY AND LESS RISKILY TO MEET CONCERNES
UNDERLYING UK-FRG DESIRES TO LIMIT INCREASES IN
SOVIET FORCES DURING NEGOTIATIONS OF PHASE I.

6. WE BELIEVE THERE IS MERIT IN RESTRICTING THAT PORTION OF
THE DISCUSSION OF CONSTRAINTS WITH EAST WHICH WILL FOLLOW
TABLING OF ALLIED FRAMEWORK PAPER AND PRECEDE DETAILED DIS-

CUSSION OF REDUCTIONS TO A LIMITED NUMBER OF MEASURES OF LIMITED DURATION. TACTICALLY, TABLING AN EXTENSIVE LIST WILL ELICIT FURTHER EASTERN COMPLAINTS ABOUT ALLIED FOOT-DRAGGING AND RELUCTANCE TO DISCUSS REDUCTIONS. THE RESULT MAY BE THAT OUR VIEWS ON CONSTRAINTS ADVANCED AT THAT TIME ARE NOT LIKELY TO RECEIVE SYMPATHETIC RECEPTION. SOVIET RECEPTIVITY TO A NUMBER OF CONSTRAINTS MEASURES WOULD PROBABLY BE GREATER AFTER AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN REACHED ON REDUCTIONS. FURTHERMORE, THE PROCESS OF EXTRICATING THE ALLIES FROM A DISCUSSION OF CONSTRAINTS WITH THE SOVIETS IN ORDER TO MOVE TO A DISCUSSION OF REDUCTIONS WILL BE INTENSIFIED WITH AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE WEST. MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH DEPARTMENT'S PAPER HAS BEEN CAREFULLY CONSIDERED, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE HAS NOT YET CAREFULLY THOUGHT THROUGH THE REQUIREMENTS IT SHOULD HAVE BOTH FOR NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND STABILIZING MEASURES TO BE INCLUDED IN FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT IN THE EVENT THAT AGREEMENT ON FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS WERE ACHIEVED. WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIETS AGREE TO ANY OF OUR LIST OF MEASURES FOR APPLICATION PRIOR TO DISCUSSION OF REDUCTIONS, IT WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE TACTICALLY HIGHLY DIFFICULT EITHER TO TIGHTEN UP ALREADY PROPOSED MEASURES FOR USE ACCOMPANYING REDUCTIONS OR TO INTRODUCE MAJOR NEW ITEMS.

7. WE REALIZE THAT THE PRESENT WASHINGTON PAPER HAS BEEN IN THE WORKS FOR A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME AND THAT IT LIKE THE PAPER ON VERIFICATION REPRESENTS FULFILLMENT OF AN OBLIGATION VIS-A-VIS THE ALLIES UNDERTAKEN SOME TIME AGO. NOW THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS HAVE STARTED AND HAVE DEVELOPED A NUMBER OF NEW TACTICAL ASPECTS, INCLUDING PARTICULARLY THE TABLING OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USEFUL FOR THE US MBFR DELEGATION TO HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT IN ADVANCE ON FINAL VERSION OF THE US PAPER PRIOR TO ITS TABLING AT NATO.

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8. WE WOULD SUGGEST WITH REGARD TO FUTURE HANDLING OF BOTH VERIFICATION AND CONSTRAINTS THAT WE AIM IN NATO FOR AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE OF A GENERAL TYPE AND REFER DETAILS AND DRAFTING TO THE AD HOC GROUP.HUMES

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